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ABSTRACT

Cultural imperialism is seen not as a static phenomenon but as a dynamic process in which the more developed countries (the dominating "centers" of the world system) influence the less developed countries (the dominated "periphery" of the system). In this process the more developed countries produce artifacts and content that reflect their culture (the values, beliefs and behaviors that their members accept and share) and export them to less developed countries. The less developed countries adopt these with revision and/or demise of local artifacts, content, and local values. Two forms of Caribbean contemporary popular music, the calypso from Trinidad and reggae from Jamaica, seem to be manifestations of the exportation/importation process of cultural imperialism. The importation/exportation process described above may have as its starting point those musical artifacts and content that are reflective of the native culture of the less developed countries and therefore serve as local referents and criteria for assessing the appropriateness of importations from the more developed countries. It provides a framework for the assumption of control by the less developed countries over the revision of their culture by the more developed countries. (Twenty-five notes are included and one figure is attached.) (RAE)

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Caribbean Musical Social Commentary and the Exportation/Importation Perspective of Communication and Cultural Imperialism

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Caribbean Musical Social Commentary and The Exportation / Importation Perspective of Communication and Cultural Imperialism

> The concept of cultural imperialism today best describes the sum of the processes by which a society is brought into the modern world system and how its dominating stratum is attracted, pressured, forced and sometimes bribed into shaping social institutions to correspond to, or even promote, the dominating center of the system.[1]

Schiller's definition captures the essence of the current perspective of cultural imperialism. It is seen not as a static phenomenon but as a dynamic process in which the more developed countries (the dominating "centers" of the world system) influence the less developed countries (the dominated "periphery" of the system). In this process the more developed countries produce artifacts and content that reflect their culture [the values, beliefs and behaviors that their members accept and share];[2] the artifacts and content are exported to the less developed countries; the less developed countries adopt these artifacts and content; such adoption may lead to the revision and/or demise of local artifacts and content[3, 4] and the revision of local values. From the point of view of the less developed countries, this may be called the importation perspective of cultural imperialism. Of course in this process of influence there is an important role for communication as an agent which facilitates, maintains and enhances both the flow of the artifacts and content and the values they represent from the more developed countries to the less developed countries and the adoption of these artifacts and content and values within the less developed countires.

But the importation process is only one method by which communication may be used to alter the cultures of the less developed countries in ways that make the cultures of these countries more like those of the more developed countries. A second may be called the exportation/importation process. Here the artifacts and content of the less developed countries may be exported to the more developed coutries, and redefined in the more developed countries, then the redefined artifacts and content may be imported by the less developed countries and adopted by the less developed countries. With this perspective there also is an important role for communication in cultural imperialism, as an agent that facilitates the exportation of the artifacts and content of the less developed countries to the more developed countires, the redefinition of the artifacts and content of less developed countries in the more developed countries, the importation of the redefined artifacts and content by the less developed countries and the adoption of that redefinition as legitimate representations of the culture of the less developed countries.

This paper describes historical and recent changes in two forms of Caribbean contemporary popular music, the calypso from Trinidad and reggae from Jamaica, which seem to be manifestations of the exportation/importation process of cultural imperialism, and develops a theoretical framework for the study of the role and significance of international communication in the exportation/importation process of the cultural imperialism in music of which the changes in calypso and reggae appear to be the manifestations. The framework is developed from a review of communication effects theory and the importation perspective if cultural imperialism, but is applied both to the importation and to the exportation stages of the importation/exportation process. The paper also develops research questions that arise from this perspective.

Change Due to the Exportation and Importation of Calypso

The island of Trinidad, where the calypso originated, is the larger part of the twin-island English speaking Caribbean nation of Trinidad and Tobago and lies just north of the Orinocco delta off the northeast shoulder of South America. Its first inhabitants were Caribs and Arawaks who are said to have migrated from South America. The Spaniards dominated the island until 1797; the British dominated it until it gained independence in 1962. While under both Spanish and British control Trinidad received many French people who fled to the island in the wake of the French revolution. The Spanish, English and French enslaved the Africans they brought to the island but forbade singing by the Africans in their native languages. The Africans elected to sing in a French Creole and in English but their subject matter was not a compromise: true to the African story telling tradition many of their songs related stories that contained lessons for living; in reaction to their exploitation many of their songs addressed the injustices to which they were subjected and sought a sort of vicarious redress from the laws of reason; and in reaction to the limits imposed by the Europeans their comments on their condition were couched in African symbolism, satire and *double entendre*.

Up to the middle of the twentieth century the range of themes addressed in calypso could be said to represent the range of themes the calypso artists (called calypsonians) saw in the wide world around them. There were songs that told stories with lessons for living; songs that celebrated the good times or lamented the bad times in life; songs that celebrated the joys of courting and sexual prowess; smutty songs that feasted on the unsavory stereotypes of females; commentaries that offered critical perspectives of developments in the personal, group, institutional, national and international arenas; and songs that interpretated, evaluated, judged and satirized the policies and the actions of the institutional, especially the governmental, *status quo*.

There was, in the 1940s, a rather noteworthy change reported by Malm and Wallis.[5] During World War 2 the United States established a naval base in Chaguaramas in northwest Trinidad. The U.S. servicemen stationed there were introduced to and patronized the smutty side of the calypso. They patronized those calypsoes that highlighted images of women that appealed to the more prurient interests of men. Perhaps the best known of these calypsoes is "Rum and Coca Cola," which featured a "mother and daughter working for the Yankee dollar" as prostitutes. The external validation afforded by the nearby subset of the American market served to enhance the legitimization of the smutty calypso among both the general population and the calypsonian population in Trinidad. Indeed, by 1956 the calypsonian The Mighty Sparrow was able to capitalize on the legitimization of the smutty calypso to win the calypso monarch competition with his "Jean and Dinah," part of which went as follows:

> Jean and Dinah
>
> Rosita and Clementina
>
> Round the corner posing
>
> Bet your life it's something they're selling
>
> But if you get them broken
>
> You can get them all for nothing
>
> Don't make no row [clamor]
>
> The Yankees gone; Sparrow take over now

Change Due to the Exportation and Importation of Reggae

Other types of Caribbean music seem to have undergone similar changes. One such change seems to be an increase in the number and percentage of songs, employing the reggae form that originated in

Jamaica, which dichotomize the human family in the process of offering explanations and resolutions for problems faced by humanity. Before the mid-1970s the writers of songs that employed reggae and other forms of Caribbean music tended to view the world as being made up of individuals, groups, institutions, governments and nations. The writers often identified these components of humanity, as well as rather universal human proclivities, as causes of the human misfortune, and offered insights and resolutions that had as their starting point the assumption of the culpability of the components of humanity or the demerits of the human proclivities. Perhaps the best example of a song in which responsibility for misfortune are attributed to institutions is "Brother," in which Jimmt Cliff blames formal education and organized religion for the inclination of a subject to deny the brotherly links between the subject and another:

> Will you patronize me, brother?
>
> Do you recognize me, brother?
>
> Do you believe what your teacher said?
>
> Or is it the food your preacher fed?
>
> Why you minimize me, brother?
>
> Oh, brother!

During the mid-1970s reggae was exported to the United States and other more developed countries. The media people and audiences there patronized, thus validated and legitimatized, those reggae songs that divided humanity into opposing camps (Rastafari versus baldhead, the good versus the bad, the system versus the suffering, 'we' versus 'them'), saw the camp opposed to the artist's camp as the cause of the problems faced by the artist or by his group or by humanity, and implied or declared that the solution to the problems lay essentially in the triumph of the artist's camp and the demise of

the other. This emphasis on dichotomization is capturesd in the refrain to a song that appeared in an album in the late 1970s that featured Robert (Bob) Marley and the Wailers: "Me no know how we an dem ah go work dis out!" (I don't know how 'we' and 'them' are going to work this out!"). After "dichotomization songs" received this validation and legitimization in more developed countries their representation in the totality of songs recorded and released by artists who use reggae seems not only to have increased but to have remained higher than their representation before the mid-1970s.

Another such change appears to be in the popularity of individual artists who use the reggae form. In the 1960s and 1970s many Jamaican and Caribbean musicians recorded and released works that employed the reggae form but none dominated the Jamaican or Caribbean music scene. After 1974 one Jamaican musician, Robert ("Bob") Marley, became the subject of a promotion campaign launched by his recording company, Marley and his work received generally favorable coverage, and Marley soon became the most successful Jamaican artist, in the more developed countries. Since then, in comparison to other Jamaican and Caribbean artists, Marley (who died in May, 1981) has been accorded the status of "leader," even "messiah," by some Jamaican and the other English-speaking Caribbean islanders.

The similarity between the developments described above is quite obvious but should be emphasized. In each case in a less developed country there was a certain level of representation or status given an element in the musical totality of the country, a representation that probably was reflective of the representation or ststus of the element in the totality that is the culture of the country. Through international communication that totality of musical elements was exported to the more developed countries or to a subset of these countries. In the more developed countries or subsets the according of greater representation or status to one element in comparison to the other elements was validated

or legitimatized as the essential feature of the totality. Through international communication this revised view of the totality of musical elements was imported by the less developed country. The less developed country then adopted the revised totality as definitive of the reality of the less developed country. This process of change represents a manifestation of the exportation/importation process of cultural imperialism.

The review by Malm and Wallis[6] of the changes the calypso has unddergone since the 1940s suggests it is useful to distinguish between two media systems in a less developed country in a discussion of cultural imperialism and the music of that country. Malm and Wallis[7] report that changes in the representation and status of the smutty element in calypso in Trinidad did not come when the calypso first stepped into the modern recording arena and was preserved on records for local consumption and presented on local radio. They report it was after calypso was "exported" to the U.S. sericemen and so became an intercultural or international commodity in the 1940s did the elevation of the smutty element relative to the other elements take place among the receiving population (the servicemen) and later general population and the calypsonian population in Trinidad. It is likely that before the 1940s calypso remained within the Trinidadian communication system and its reasonable representation or status in the calypsoscape, as perceived by the Trinidadians, was influenced mainly by forces within the local culture of Trinidad, but in the 1940s it became a part of the international communication system and its reasonable representation or status in the calypsoscape, as perceived by the Trinidadians, was influenced more than before by forces outside the culture of Trinidad. It may be also that the elevation of the representation of dichotomization songs among Jamaican and Caribbean musicians using the reggae form, and the elevation of the status of Marley among Jamaicans and other Caribbean people, came after the validation and legitimization of reggae and Marley respectively in the international communication system.

Critics of the above view may claim, as Chaffee[8] notes, that music is a manifestation of a people and an expression of their cultural meanings and so any redefinition of the music of a less developed country that takes place in a more developed country must be sifted by the culture of the less developed country before it can be truly integrated into the mental sets of the population there. But a number of views on the relationship between communication and social climate indicate that communication that presents the music of the less developed countries to people in these countries would be able to shape these people's views of the different weights to be accorded different elements in their musical totality. At the foundation of these views is the fact that individuals depend on their communication partners for their surveillance of the world their senses cannot monitor directly, and their perception of that world is subject very much to the information provided about it by the communication partners. Roberts[9] claims communication provides the information that constitutes the perception the individual forms of the environment, and this perception affects the way the individual acts in the environment. According to Lazarsfeld and Merton,[10] the audiences of mass communication seem to believe that a subject that matters will be at the center of media attention, and a subject at the center of media attention must matter.

Each of these views seems to explain the role of international communication in the development, maintenance or enhancement in the less developed countries of the redefinitions of their musical totality that may take place in the more developed countries. The communication may help the less developed countries organize their image of their musical world with the redefined musical totality from the more developed countries as a referent, as the view of Roberts suggests. And the communication may help the less developed countries develop the impression that the redefined musical totality is important, sound and popular, as the view of Lazarsfeld and Merton suggests. Generally, the communication can have as its foundation a redefinition of the musical totality of the

music of the less developed countries that originated in the less developed countries, and can foster the possibility that the less developed countries will adopt, maintain and enhance this redefination of their musical totality.

In addition a review of conditions that operate with communication to enhance the flow of influence from more developed countries to less developed countries indicates that these conditions could operate with communication to assist the exportation of the music of the less developed countries to the more developed countries and the importation and adoption of the redefined music by the less developed countries.

The Theoretical Framework for Communication and the Exportation/Importation Perspective of Cultural Imperialism in Music

Since the process of cultural imperialism in popular music essentially is a process of influence, a theoretical framework for investigating and understanding the role of international communication in the processs may be derived from the theoretical frameworks for the study of communication effects. At the foundation of these frameworks is the view that communication engenders effects if the communication works with facilitating conditions in the communication setting. Comstock, Chaffee, Katzman, McCombs and Roberts[11] called these contingent, antecedent and intervening conditions. Each type of condition has been estabished as applicable to the importation perspective of cultural imperialism and probably is applicable to the exportantion/importation perspective of the role of international communication in cultural imperialism in music that is illustrated by the cases of calypso and reggae.

A contingent condition is an enabling or encouraging aspect of the social and psychological environment which sanctions the behavior advocated by the communication as a reasonable option in life or impels individuals towards the behavior; a contingent condition is like a catalyst that triggers the process by which communication may have a direct effect.[12] There are contingent conditions within which more developed and less developed countries operate and which make both the use of international communication to export the musical artifacts and content of the less developed countries to the more developed countries, and the adoption by the less developed countries of the redefinitions of their musical totality that come from the more developed countries through international communication, as reasonable options in life.

One contingent condition is the difference between the levels of development in the more developed and the less developed countries. The more developed countries especially are more advanced in such areas as the technology of the production of artifacts and content and the marketing of artifacts and content. Arising from this difference is the perception that essentially there is what could be called a dependency relationship between the two groups of countries. Those with such a view see the world as a system in which the more developed countries are dominant and the less developed countries are subordinate: the more developed countries are leaders and the less developed countries are followers, the more developed countries are superior and the less developed countries are inferior, and the more developed countries are sources of referents and the less developed countries seekers and recipients of these referents. With this perception the less developed countries continually may seek validation or legitimization for their musical artifacts and content in the more developed countries, as the modeling, objectification, utilitarian and reinforcement paradigms of human motivation[13] predict. A consequence of this tendency may be the inclination of the less developed countries to use international communication to export these artifacts and content to the perceived

centers of validation and legitimization, the more developed countries. With this view also the more developed countries continually may seek to use international communication to export their musical artifacts and content to the less developed countries and the less developed countries continually may seek to import and adopt those musical artifacts and content from the more developed countries, as the importation perspective of cultural imperialism as well as the objectification, utilitarian, reinforcement and modeling perspectives of human motivation[14] predict. Thus the perception of a dependency relationship between superior more developed countries and inferior less developed countries, with international communication that transmits artifacts and content from the more developed countries to the less developed countries, could facilitate the process of cultural imperialism through the transmission of music.

A second relevant contingent condition is that control of the origination and transmission of artifacts and content between nations of the world is in the hands of [corporations in] the more developed countries[15, 16, 17, 18] and exists to promote the fortunes of the [corporations and] countries.[19] The corporations no doubt market musical artifacts and content from the less developed countries in the more developed countries when such marketing generates revenue for the corporations. The corporations also promote the adoption of the redefined musical artifacts and content in the less developed countries, especially when such adoption promotes a demand for goods and services which can be provided by [corporations in] the more developed countries and from the provision of which the [corporations in] the more developed countries profit. The following illustrates this point:

> A few years ago Ethiopian radio imported dramatic programs from the United States. Around the time of the Christmas season, these programs promoted the European and American tradition of Christmas trees and gift

> giving. Ethiopia is a Coptic Christian country, where Christmas was strictly a religious holiday. However, the American programming led to a demand for Christmas trees and gift giving . . . The trees had to be shipped in from the U.S.![20]

Thus companies engaged in international communication and owned by the more developed countries could be expected to use the media of international communication to facilitate and promote cultural imperialism in music. The result is the enhancement of markets in both the less developed countries and the more developed countries for musical artifacts and content which the companies can provide and from the provision of which the companies benefit.

In the formaulation by Comstock et al[21] an antecedent condition and an intervening condition were conceived as more temporally related to the effect than the contingent condition. An antecedent condition is an event that occurs before the communication and an intervening condition is an event that occurs after the communication. An event could be antecedent, intervening, or both antecedent and intervening, depending on whether it occurs before and/or after the communication. But either condition could work with communication to have an effect on an individual.

One antecedent/intervening condition that probably encourages the exportation of musical artifacts and content from the less developed countries to the more developed countries and also enhances the adoption of musical artifacts and content from the more developed countries in the less developed countries consists of the benefits secured by the less developed countries when they adopt the musical artifacts and content. In the case of exportation by the less developed countries, one such benefit is the gaining of revenue by the less developed countries from the sale of their artifacts and

content in the more developed countries. In the case of importation, radio stations in the less developed countries show evidence of the importance of such benefits when they import music programming from the more developed countries[22] with a view to filling or extending hours of service and saving production costs.

Another antecedent/intervening condition is the feasibility of the incorporation of the musical artifacts and content of the less developed countries into the more developed countries and of the incorporation of the redefined musical totality from the more developed countries into the less developed countries. The first is provided, or even assured, by the promotional apparatus of the [corporations in the] more developed countries that undertake to export the artifacts and content from the less developed countries. The second is enhanced by the perception in the less developed countries of the superiority of the more developed countries; it also is enhanced when leaders of the less developed countries are "attracted, pressured or forced and sometimes bribed"[23] by forces from the more developed countries into ensuring it.

Overview of the Exportation/Importation Perspective and Related Research Questions

A diagram which presents visually the relationship among the contingent conditions, the antecedent/intervening conditions, the local communication systems of the less developed countries, the local components of the international communication system in the less developed countries, the local components of the international communication system in the more developed countries and the communication processes of exportation and importation (transmission), redefinition and validation/legitimization appears below. For simplicity the process of cultural imperialism is assumed to begin with a musical totality that is representative of the culture of the less developed

country and is within the local communication system of the less developed country. That musical totality is *exported* into the local component of the international communication system in the less developed country. It is *exported* by the international communication system to the local component of the international communication system in the more developed country, in which it is *redefined* under the influence of the culture of the of the more developed country. The redefined musical totality is then *imported* by the international communication system into the less developed country. It is *adopted* by the local component of the international communication system in the less developed country, and perhaps even by the local communication system of the less developed country. Each of process is carried out through the channels of communication. Each process is enhanced by two international conditions, the perception that less developed countries are dependent upon more developed countries and the control of the channels of communication by [corporations in] the more developed countries which operate for the benefit of the [corporations and] countries. Each process also is enhanced by two situational conditions, the degree to which the process is feasible and the benefits to be accrued by the participants in the process.

One area of research is the drawing of distinctions between the local communication system and the local component of the international communication system in less developed countries. Research questions include what are the media and media influencing forces that make up each communication system and what are the media and media influencing forces that are shared by the communication systems. In the world of the calypso it is likely that those performances for the calypso monarch competition which The Mighty Sparrow won in 1956 with "Jean and Dinah" belong in the local Trinidad communication system, those performances on records belong in both the local and international communication systems but those performances before tourists at the Trinidad Hilton Hotel belong in the local component of the international communication system. The media used and

the target and actual audiences obviously are to be considered in this determination.

Another area of research is the determination of which single condition, single medium, single media influencing forces or combinations of conditions, media and/or media influencing forces appear to be the most efficaciuos in each of the processes described or implied in the diagram: the exportation of a musical totality into a local communication system or the local component of the international communication system, the adoption of a musical totality by a local communication system or the local component of the international communication system, the redefinition of the musical totality within the local component of the international communication system in a more developed country. The Federal Communications Commission in the United States bases much of its regulations on the ideology that radio should be highly responsive to local audience preferences, but Rothenbuhler[24] found the decision makers who accorded air play to recordings at a radio station were more responsive to national record industry and national radio industry recommendations and criteria than to local contingencies. One product of this research could be the determination of the relative strengths of popular preference and industry forces in the processes of exportation, redefinition, importation and adoption.

While the process of redefinition is perceived above as taking place in the more developed countries, that process may be started at the local component of the international communication system in the less developed countries and simply advanced in the more developed countries. One area of research is the determination of the amount and type of redefinition that the musical totality originating in the local communication systems of the less developed countries go through before, during and after each process of transmission: from the local communication system of the less developed country to the local component of the international communication system in the less developed country; from the

local component of the international communication system in the less developed country to the local component of the international communication system in the more developed country; from the local component of the international communication system in the more developed country to the local component of the international communication system in the less developed country; and from the local component of the international communication system in the less developed country to the local communication system in the less developed country. The relative strengths of popular preference and industry forces in each stage also is an important area of concern.

One fundamental notion in the theoretical framework presented here is that the musical totalities of the less developed countries are modified in the process of cultural imperialism. The testing of this notion is contingent on the development of criteria and indices by which the type and degree of change in the musical totality of the less developed countries can be determined. Of course in making this determination it seems especially important to decide from which perspective, or from which point in the overall process of cultural imperialism, will normative states of the musical totality of these countries be determined.

The importation perspective of cultural imperialism has spawned one major criticism of the less developed countries that have accused the more developed countries of cultural imperialism. These less developed countries have been accused of voluntarily accepting artifacts and content from the more developed countries and of voluntarily incorporating these products of the culture of the more developed countries into their nations even when the adoption of these products of culture is entirely in local control.[25] One argument in defense of the less developed countries is that efforts to weigh the appropriateness of these products of the culture of the more developed countries are made difficult because the less developed countries may not have optimal local referents and criteria by

which to assess the appropriateness of the importations. The importation/exportation process described above may have as its starting point those musical artifacts and content that are reflective of the native culture of the less developed countries and therefore serve as local referents and criteria for assessing the appropriateness of importations from the more developed countries. It provides a framework for the assumption of control by the less developed countries over the revision of their culture by the more developed countries.

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THE IMPORTATION/EXPORTATION PERSPECTIVE OF CULTURAL IMPERIALISM

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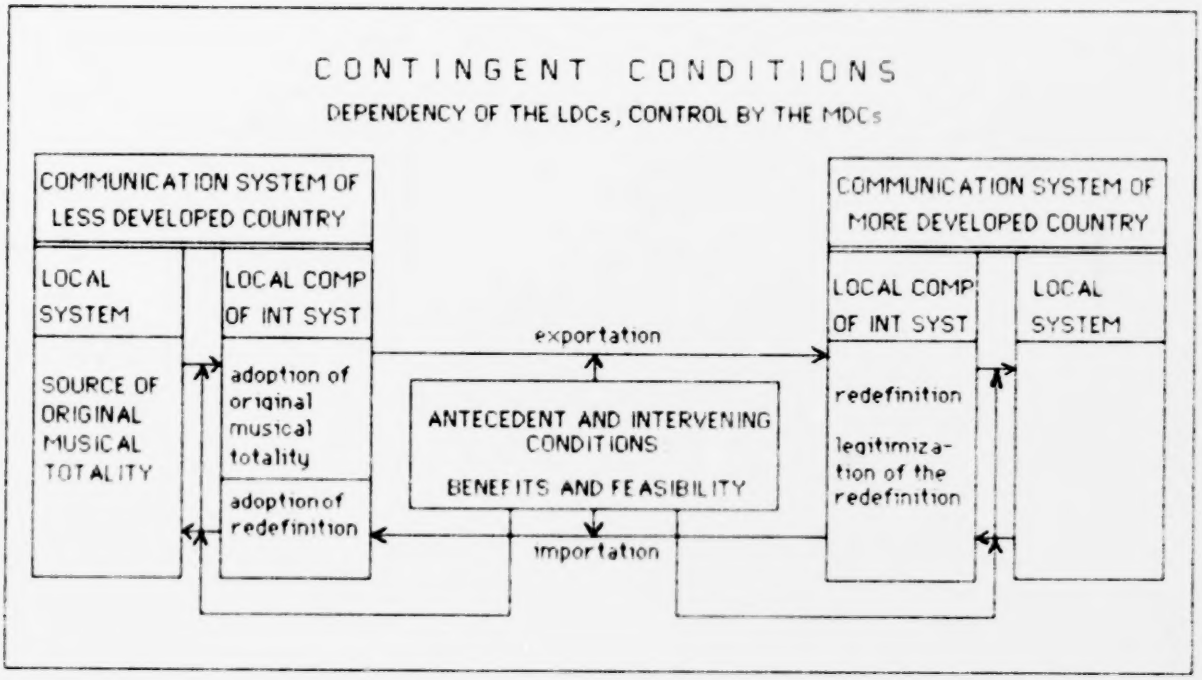

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